DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 072 325 AC 014 160

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TITLE Associational Structure and Community Development: A Comparative Study of Two Communities in Southern United States.
PUB DATE Aug 72
NOTE 24p.; Paper presented at the Third World Congress for Rural Sociology (Baton Rouge, La., August 1972), from an NIMH study entitled "Community Structure and Involvement"

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS *Community Development; *Community Study; *Comparative Analysis; *Conceptual Schemes; Power Structure; Rating Scales; *Social Relations; Speeches; Tables (Data)

ABSTRACT

The coordinativeness of associational structures of two local communities are compared, with several operational measures of associational coordinativeness defined and a quantitative scale for measuring associational interlock in community activities is suggested. The two communities compared were in the Southern United States. Twenty-one actions in each community were classified into five major interest fields: agriculture and land use, industry and business, health, services and welfare, and education. Associations were classified as to either coordinating or limited interest, according to their participation in several interest fields. Associational interlock was defined for the purpose of the present study as the degree to which the coordinating associations in a locality in the community field jointly participate in community activities. Results of the study showed that Community A, which could be characterized as following a somewhat autonomous action style, lacked coordination and integration of its community structure in relative terms as reflected in its leadership structure, as well as in associational structure. Community B was characterized by a highly coordinative leadership and associational structures and a unified community field. It had a larger number of coordination associations more intensively participating in activities in several interest fields, a highly interlocking associational structure, and a central coordinating association with great influence on community activities. Seven tables present the study data. (DB)

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ASSOCIATIONAL STRUCTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT:

A Comparative Study of Two Communities in Southern United States[1]

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Two apparently conflicting approaches in community development have been referred to by Kaufman as technological versus community organization (1970:2). In contrasting the two views, Kaufman stated:

> "The first emphasizes the improvement of material conditions of life and measures of success in terms of technical gains and economic growth . . . The second theme covers the whole gamut of societal goals, and focuses on the development of local groups which have skill in problem solving, strong identification with locality and a spirit of self reliance."
>
> (Ibid.: 2).

Germane to the two contrasting views mentioned above are two distinct styles of development, autonomous and coordinative. The technological approach implies an autonomous and segmented style of development in the sense that material and technical developments are realized in specific interest fields in isolation from others, and frequently at the expense of existing local structures and values. A major possible consequence of this style of development, it is argued, is segmentation

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1. Paper presented at the Third World Congress for Rural Sociology, Baton Rouge, August, 1972. The research on which the paper was based was supported in part by the National Institute of Mental Health, U.S.A., for a larger study entitled Community Structure and Involvement. A preliminary analysis of the data was done by the author at the Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State University while working there as Assistant Anthropologist.

2. The general theoretical notion utilized in this paper was primarily conceptualized and articulated by Harold F. Kaufman and his associates of the Social Science Research Center, Mississippi State University. However, the author is solely responsible for the manner in which this general notion has been interpreted and utilized in this paper.

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of community structure along interest lines and even ultimate dissolution of "community".

Relevant to the community organization approach is the coordinative and integrative style which conceives development as change in social structure across several interest fields in a locality in an interrelated and integrative manner. The coordinative style is more comprehensive in the sense that it includes both the complementary processes of development -- structural differentiation and integration, in a continuous balanced interaction. Structural differentiation of interest fields through multiplication, specialization and elaboration of groups and associations is a concomitant of development resulting in structural heterogeneity and complexity which needs to be integrated if segmentation of community is to be avoided and community cohesiveness maintained. The latter could be achieved through the process of integration involving coordination of activities across interest fields, and appropriate development of structures and patterns for coordination.

An important mechanism of accomplishing technological goals and maintaining structural unity at the same time is through developing a coordinative associational structure in a local society. A coordinative associational structure includes a network of coordinating groups maintaining interlocking relationships through joint participation in community activities in several interest fields. The general purpose of this study is to illustrate empirically the theoretical propositions mentioned above. More specifically, the objective of this paper is to compare two communities characterized by contrasting development styles, in terms of the coordinativeness of their associational structures and the extent to which interlocking associational networks exist in the two communities. In doing so, specific operational measures of coordinative associational structures are defined, and a measure for associational interlock in community activities is suggested.

Since the study is set within the theoretical frame of reference of community field theory, the notion of community field is first summarized briefly. This is followed by a discussion of a conceptual model of coordinative associational structure. The two communities are then compared in terms of the operational measures suggested, and in the final section of the paper implications of the findings are discussed.

The Community Field

The frame of reference of this study is what may be referred to generally as an interactional or field theory approach.[3] A local society is characterized by numerous interest or social fields such as in economics, religion, government, etc., each with its shared norms, and associations in the context of which appropriate behaviors are performed and developmental activities pursued. Although each interest field in a local society may have its own identifiable actors, associations, and activities pursuing its own relevant goals, in reality the social fields overlap in varying degrees through the "existence of common actors and associations and by coordinated activities" (Wilkinson, 1969:32). This dynamic and emergent social field with a distinctive multi-interest focus of its own is referred to as a community field.

The community field emerging from "several institution based fields in a local society" (Ibid.:33), and with multi-interest focus has a generalizing influence on the local society. This generalizing influence is characterized by the dual processes of structural elaboration and differentiation, and coordination and integration. The former generalizing process of the community field involves mobilization of resources from several to a particular interest field where it is needed whereby a high level of achievement, specialization and elaboration is achieved in a given interest field. The second generalizing process of coordination and integration of activities across interest fields seems to be essential if structural continuity is to be maintained, and comprehensive development realized. Comprehensive development here is defined as a "planned and coordinated type of activity in which the several interest fields in a local society change and adjust one with the other toward the desired new forms" (Kaufman and Dasgupta, 1968:2). Thus the community field must include both processes, differentiation and integration, to maintain its structural unity as it develops. However, a high level of community integration with little or no structural specialization and differentiation may be achieved as in relatively static folk and traditional societies.

Local societies may be categorized in varying degrees as having autonomous or coordinative structures according to the extent to which community fields are present in such localities. In a local society with autonomous structure and action style various interest fields operate more or less independently and

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3. For recent statements of this perspective see Kaufman and Wilkinson, 1967; Wilkinson, 1969; 1970 and 1972. For an earlier conceptualization of the approach, see Kaufman, 1959.

in relative isolation from other social fields. But a local society with coordinative action style is characterized by generalized structures of leadership and association which help such localities to carry out comprehensive and integrated programs of development.

The major objective of community research from the community field perspective is to identify the kinds of structures and processes which facilitate both technical growth in individual interest fields and integrative action across interest lines. Such generalizing structures and processes may be observed and measured at all the levels of the three analytical elements of community field: actions, actors and associations.

Actions within the community field may be distinguished from others in the local society according to the degree of comprehensiveness of interest pursued and needs met, the extent to which the action can be locally identified, the extent of local participation in the activity and finally, the extent to which the activity affects the local society in terms of stability and change. In other words, activities in the community field are coordinative in nature with a broad scope of interest and wide range of participation across the interest fields.

With regard to actors a community field is characterized by a generalized leadership structure which usually consists of a relatively small number of people who are involved in actions and hold important positions in informal and formal associations in a variety of interest fields, and are widely reputed as general leaders in the community. The generalized leaders constitute a network being related to one another through the formal and informal associations.

As at the level of leadership structure, the coordinative nature of the associational structure in the community field can be observed in the presence of generalized coordinating associations which serve to initiate, sponsor and coordinate activities in many interest fields and help creation of new structures to deal with newly identified community problems; and also in the presence of a network of interlocking associations jointly participating in community projects and activities. It is to such units of structure that our attention is turned for the remainder of this paper.

Coordinative Associational Structure

A local society includes a wide range of associations varying from small informal groups to the highly formalized and institutionalized ones. Some of these associations,

however, never appear in the community field and are not considered as part of the associational structure of the community field. Of the groups and associations appearing in the community field of a local society one time or another, some are very informal in nature while others are highly formalized. Only a few associations, such as community development associations, would entirely engage in community activities while there would be others which would spend a substantial part of their efforts in activities in the community field. Many of the associations, however, would appear in the community field to participate in activities which are immediately although not necessarily relevant to their special, limited interest fields.

Associations in the community field thus can be broadly catagorized into two types, coordinating associations and limited interest associations. The associations of the former catagory would not only participate in a relatively large number of community activities but their participation would also include activities in several interest fields of the local society. The coordinating associations identify the needs and sponsor activities in several interest fields, and direct and coordinate participation of the various groups and associations within each interest field. When the activities and projects are initiated by limited interest associations of the specific interest fields, the coordinating associations provide effective support in program execution by mobilizing local and extra-local resources. The limited interest associations, on the other hand, initiate and/or participate in activities within their own interest fields.

For the purpose of identifying the coordinative nature of the associational structures several operational measures may be proposed. A straightforward and somewhat crude measure will be the total number of associations appearing in the community field participating in various community relevant activities. A community with a highly coordinative associational structure will have a large number of associations appearing in the community field at one time or another. As noted above, some of these associations are coordinating associations participating in large numbers of activities across interest fields while the others which appear in the community field only when activities relevant to their respective interest fields are performed are referred to as limited interest associations.

Number of associations playing coordinative roles in the community field would be a second measure of coordinative associational structure. The coordinative nature of these associations could be measured in terms of percent of all activities in which each association participated, and the percent of interest areas in which involved. An important

measure of a coordinative associational structure will be the presence of a central coordinating association which participates in almost all community activities involving every interest field and in the process exerts an overwhelming coordinative influence on the associational structure of a local society. The final measure of a coordinative associational structure will be the extent of interlock among coordinating associations through joint participation in community activities across various interest fields. The last two measures are particularly important, for an associational structure may have little or no coordination if several coordinating associations in a local society act in relative isolation from each other, and even develop conflicting relationships.

Associational Structures in the Two Communities

The two communities selected for the study and referred to hereinafter as Community A and Community B, were located in a single state in the southern United States. Both the communities, situated about three hundred miles apart, were multi-county trade centers and served as regional centers for several state agencies. The communities were similar in population, median income, education and percentage of labor force in agriculture. The two communities, however, had some important differences. Community B had a greater ethnic, class and religious homogeniety than Community A which included twice as many non-white in its population as in B, and also included a larger proportion of low-income families and a more diversified religious groupings.

Extensive field work concerned with identifying action patterns, involvements and accomplishments, leadership styles and networks, and associational structures in each community was carried out over a three year period. Data were collected during the summer of 1964 through intensive study of twenty-five significant projects or actions in each community during the preceeding five years.[4]

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4. The information on actions was collected by interviewing officers of each formal organization of the two communities and the members of the civic clubs. The officials of the Chamber of Commerce of Community A and community development association of Community B were asked to review the preliminary list of actions based on responses

(continued p.6)

Structured depth interviews were conducted with 111 action participants in Community A and 122 in Community B to collect data which included specific accounts of activities and description of actions by individuals and groups.

The analysis of the data made so far tends to indicate that Community B had a more integrated structure than Community A. For example, one measure of the integrated nature of community structure is the extent to which the local residents recognize generalized leadership.[5] A comparison of the two communities revealed that consensus in Community B was greater than Community A in recognizing this generalized leadership (Wilkinson, 1966:11). That the Community B had a more generalized leadership structure than Community A was revealed by the fact that the former had ten what Preston called "highly generalized" leaders while the latter had only three (Preston, 1967:129). Wilkinson found (1966:12) that not only did Community B have a greater number of generalized leaders but its leaders also had a more "routinized interaction" pattern than Community A.

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4. (continued) of the former category of informants and to make additions if necessary. This procedure yielded 25 actions in Community A and 24 in B. Newspapers for the five year period were reviewed to secure a summary of each action and a list of participating individuals and associations. One or more prominent actors in each action were then interviewed with regard to their knowledge and roles in the program, and were also asked to name other people who were active in the program. A secondary list of participants was obtained in this manner. These individuals were also interviewed regarding their knowledge of each action they were involved in and roles of individual actors and associations. Finally a judgment was made about the relative completeness of information on each program based on the amount of repetitive information obtained. Additional interviewing was ceased when it yielded no additional information.

5. Generalized leaders are those who are not only reputed to be leaders of several interest fields but also actually participate in activities across interest fields and in the process exert coordinating influence on community structure and activities.

The integrated nature of Community B was further reflected in the analysis of reactions of local residents of the two communities to the evaluative statements about community actions, leadership and local organizations (Smith, 1965). The consensus among respondents was higher in Community B than Community A without exception in each category. In other words, the general conclusion of earlier studies was that Community B had a more integrated and coordinated structure and action style than Community A. Community actions were more autonomous and somewhat factionalized in Community A and more coordinated and organized in Community B (Wilkinson, 1969:38).

Associations in Community Field

Twenty-one action programs were selected from each community for the purpose of analysis in the present study. The actions were selected on the basis of their magnitude and degree of community orientation.[6] These included short range activities of task accomplishment such as constructing a school or a rehabilitation center as well as activities to develop organizations and agencies to sponsor continuous activities in an interest field (for example, establishment of a neighborhood improvement council).

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6. These actions were locality-oriented in the sense that actors and/or beneficiaries were local, the goals expressed local interest and the activities were public. A selected number of respondents who participated actively in a specific program were interviewed for information on actions in terms of initiators, sponsors, objectives, individual actors and associations, local and non-local resources, beneficiaries in the action. The respondents were also asked to give a narrative description of the actions in which they participated including the chronology of events and the names and nature of participation of individuals and groups involved.

Table 1. Showing the Extent of Participation of Various Coordinating and Limited Interest Associations in 21 Actions in Community A.

Associations	Total No. of Actions (21)	No. of Actions in Which Participated by Interest Areas: Agriculture & Land Use (1)	Business & Industry (2)	Health (5)	Welfare & Services* (10)	Education (3)
Coordinating Associations						
Civic Clubs	14	0	0	5	7	2
Local Government	13	1	2	3	5	2
Local Industries & Businesses	10	0	1	3	5	1
Newspaper	10	1	0	3	4	2
Chamber of Commerce	9	0	2	1	3	3
Limited Interest Associations by Interest Fields in which participated**						
Agriculture & Land Use						
Extension Agency	1	1				
Soil Conservation Agency	1	1				
Business & Industry						
Real Estate Agencies	1		1			
Port Commission	2		2			
Local Engineering Firms	1		1			

*This interest field included such actions as community chest, minority group recreation program, urban renewal and public housing etc.

**Associations classified according to interest fields in which these actually participated, consequently, although these associations participating in the same interest field had some similarities -- interests in community affairs did not necessarily have similarity in enterprise.

Table 1. Continued

Associations	Total No. of Actions (21)	No. of Actions in Which Participated by Interest Areas: Agriculture & Land Use (1)	Business & Industry (2)	Health (5)	Welfare & Services (10)	Education (3)
Health						
Memorial Hospital	2			1		1
Post-Graduate Medical Society	1			1		
Local Physicians	1			1		
Medical Associations	2			1		1
Medical Auxiliary	1			1		
Red Cross	1			1		
United Givers Fund	1			1		
Boy Scouts	1			1		
Civil Defense	1			1		
Services & Welfare						
YMCA	1				1	
Women's Clubs	3			1	2	
Garden Clubs	4				4	
Banks	2				1	1
City Planning Commission	1				1	
Fair Ground Assoc.	1				1	
Cattlemen's Assoc.	1				1	
Home Demonstration Club	3				3	
Churches	3			1	2	
DAR	1				1	
City Recreation Commission	2			1	1	
Education						
PTA	2				1	1
School Board	2			1		1
High School	2			1		1
Friends of the Library	1					1
Hospital Board of Trustees	1					1
University	1					1

Table 2. Showing the Extent of Participation of Coordinating and Limited Interest Associations in 21 Actions in Community B.

Associations	Total No. of Actions (21)	No. of Actions in Which Participated by Interest Areas: Agriculture & Land Use (4)	Business & Industry (5)	Health (2)	Welfare & Services (6)	Education (4)
Coordinating Associations						
Comm. Dev. Assoc.	20	4	5	2	6	3
Local Industries & Businesses	17	4	5	1	4	3
Civic Clubs	15	3	5	1	5	1
Newspaper	14	4	2	1	4	3
Local Government	13	3	2	2	4	2
Banks	10	3	4	2	1	0
Rural Comm. Dev. Com.	8	3	2	0	2	1
Limited Interest Associations						
Agriculture & Land Use						
County Library	1	1				
County Health Dept.	1	1				
Lumber Industries	1	1				
County Chancery Court	2	1				
Exten. & Soil Agencies	1	1				
Garden Clubs	2	1				
Business & Industry						
Industrial Com. of CDA	4	2	1		1	
Industrial Club	1		1			
Personnel Club	1		1			
Industrial Park Committee	1		1			
Health						
Hospital Auxiliary	1			1		
Hospital Corp.	1			1		
County Hospital	2			1		1

Table 2. Continued

Associations	Total No. of Actions (21)	No. of Actions in Which Participated by Interest Areas: Agriculture & Land Use (4)	Business & Industry (5)	Health (2)	Welfare & Services (6)	Education (4)
Mental Health Assoc.	1			1		
Shrine Club	1			1		
Rehab. Center	1			1		
Churches	1			1		
Girl Scouts	1			1		
Services & Welfare						
Parents Club	3				2	1
Womens Club	1				1	
Recreation Commission	2				2	
Tourist & Recreation Commission of CDA	2				2	
United Neighbors	1				1	
City Planning Commission	1				1	
Education						
School Board	3				1	2
PTA	1					1
Schools	1					1
Junior College	1					1
Vocational Ed. Com. of CDA	1					1
Employment Service	1					1

Table 1 and 2 show the associations which were involved in the twenty-one actions in each community by number of actions in which each participated and by interest fields. The twenty-one actions in each community were classified into five major interest fields -- agriculture and land use, industry and business, health, services and welfare and education.

Associations were classified into two types, coordinating and limited interest, according to their participation in several interest fields. Although the majority of the associations listed in the two tables represent single associations, some of the associations which were very similar in nature and scope and usually participated in activities jointly have been grouped together, e.g., civic clubs, local industries and businesses, banks and local government.

When the two communities are compared in terms of total number of associations and number of coordinating associations in the community field, the differences are found to be slight. Community B had 38 associations in its community field as opposed to 36 in Community A. Community B also had a higher number of coordinating associations than Community A although again the difference was not great with seven coordinating associations in the former and five in the latter.

When compared in terms of intensity of participation of the coordinating associations in various activities across the interest fields, the difference between the two communities becomes strikingly apparent. This is shown in Tables 3 and 4 in terms of (1) percent of total activities in which participated, (2) percent of interest fields in which involved and (3) extent of action involvement in each interest field.

The coordinating associations in Community B participated in a greater proportion of all actions than did those of Community A. In Community B four out of seven coordinating associations participated in more than two-thirds of the total activities. Only the civic clubs in this community participated in two-thirds of the activities. Of the remaining associations, one participated in 62 percent, and three participated in less than one-half of the total activities.

When compared in terms of percent of interest fields in which involved, it is found that five out of seven coordinating associations in Community B participated in one or more actions of all interest fields. In Community A only one association, local government, participated in one or more actions in all interest fields.

Table 3. Coordinating Associations in Community A by Percent of Actions Participated by Interest Fields and by Percent of all Interest Fields in which Participated

Coordinating Associations	Percent of All Actions Participated (N=21)	Percent of Actions Participated by Interest Fields: Agrig. & Land Use (N=1)	Local Industries & Businesses (N=2)	Health (N=5)	Services & Welfare (N=10)	Education (N=3)	Percent of Interest Fields Participated (N=5)
Civic Clubs	67	0	0	100	70	67	60
Local Government	62	100	100	60	50	67	100
Local Industries & Businesses	48	0	50	60	50	33	80
Newspaper	48	100	0	60	40	67	80
Chamber of Commerce	43	0	100	20	30	100	80

Table 4. Coordinating Associations in Community B by Percent of Actions Participated by Interest Fields and by Percent of all Interest Fields in which Participated

Coordinating Associations	Percent of All Actions Participated (N=21)	Percent of Actions Participated by Interest Fields: Agrig. & Land Use (N=4)	Local Industries & Businesses (N=5)	Health (N=2)	Services & Welfare (N=6)	Education (N=4)	Percent of Interest Fields Participated (N=5)
Comm. Dev. Assoc.	95	100	100	100	100	75	100
Local Industries & Businesses	81	100	100	50	67	75	100
Civic Clubs	71	75	100	50	83	25	100
Newspaper	67	100	40	50	67	75	100
Local Government	62	75	40	100	67	50	100
Banks	48	75	80	100	17	0	80
RCDC	38	75	40	0	34	25	80

Furthermore, as borne out in Tables 3 and 4, the coordinating associations in Community B not only participated in a greater proportion of all community activities, and participated in a greater number in actions of all interest fields, but also in a greater proportion of actions in each interest field.

Central Coordinating Association

One of the important features of the associational structure of Community B was the presence of a central coordinating association referred to here as the Community Development Association (CDA). A central coordinating association was operationally defined as the one which participated in almost all community activities across several interest fields and in the process exerted a highly integrative influence on the associational structure.

As can be observed from Table 4, the CDA in Community B participated in all but one of the 21 community activities (95 percent) and also participated in actions of all interest fields. Out of the 20 actions in which it participated, CDA initiated and sponsored 13 actions, 8 singly and 5 jointly with other associations. In the remaining 7 actions, which were sponsored and initiated by other associations, CDA played the important roles of legitimizer, publicizer and resource mobilizer. For example, in the program for watershed development in the community, CDA participated through its water resources development committee and took an active role in getting the program high congressional priority and in mobilizing resources for initial success of the program.[7] The CDA, which superseded the Chamber of Commerce, was expressly organized in the mid-forties to initiate and coordinate activities in a variety of interest fields. It participated in most of the community activities during its periods of existence and took active role along with other associations in creating new structures in several interest fields. One of its major roles in the community had been securing resources from external agencies.[8]

In Community A such a central coordinating association was conspicuously absent. Actions and projects were usually initiated and sponsored by associations within its own interest

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7. For a comparative study of watershed development activity in the two communities see, Dasgupta (1968), and Dasgupta and Wilkinson (1968).

8. For a detailed discussion on the role of the Community Development Association in the development activities of Community B, see Kaufman and Dasgupta (1968).

fields although the coordinating associations exerted some integrative influence through their participation in activities across interest fields. The Local Government was the only association which came anywhere near to a central coordinating association. As shown in Table 3, local government was the only association in Community A which participated in one or more actions in each interest field and provided the only continuing coordination among the interest fields. Indeed the lack of central coordinating association and relative dominance of local government in activities in Community A has caused public debate and controversy and community "split along interest and class lines" (Wilkinson 1969:39).

Associational Interlock in Community Activities

The final measure of associational coordination in the present study was the extent of interlock among the coordinating associations in community activities. Here we were interested in identifying whether or not an interlocking cluster of associations existed in each community which participated in the same issues or activities. This measure is of particular importance for sheer occurrence of several coordinating associations is not necessarily indicative of a cohesive and coordinative associational structure. Several coordinating associations, as mentioned earlier, may not only act in isolation from each other (cf. Freeman, 1968:58-62), but may even have competitive and conflicting relationships. An ideal integrative and coordinative associational structure, it is argued here, comes into existence through cooperative and interlocking participation of coordinating associations in the community field.

A good deal of recent research and theory has been devoted to the problem of associational linkage or interlock in a local community setting. Coser (1956), Blau and Scott (1962:199) and Rose (1954), for example, have stressed the importance of associational linkage, although through multiple group affiliations of actors, in maintaining community cohesiveness; and Hay and Polson (1951) argued that multiple group affiliations of actors encourage cooperative relationship among associations in various activities. Two separate empirical studies (Young and Larson, 1965; Beal et al., 1967) came to the general conclusion that "overlapping memberships tended to link organizations together in clusters" (Klonglan et al., 1969:2).

Associational interlock in the present study, however, was not measured in terms of membership linkages but according to the actual participation in community activities. Multiple affiliation of actors to the participating associations could be one of the important contributing factors to the associational linkages in community activities.

Table 5. Associational Interlock Matrix for Community A

Associations	Chamber of Commerce	Local Industries & Businesses	Newspaper	Local Govt.	Civic Clubs
Chamber of Commerce	(9)*	3	6	7	4
Local Industries & Businesses	3	(10)	4	6	9
Newspaper	6	4	(10)	7	6
Local Gvt.	7	6	7	(13)	9
Civic Clubs	4	9	6	9	(14)

*Figure in parenthesis indicates the total number of actions in which the particular organization took part.

Table 6. Associational Interlock Matrix for Community B

Associations	Rural Community Development Committee	Banks	Local Govt.	Newspaper	Civic Clubs	Local Industries & Businesses	Community Development Association
Rural Community Development Committee	(8)	4	6	8	7	8	8
Banks	4	(10)	6	7	9	9	10
Local Govt.	6	6	(13)	9	9	10	13
Newspaper	8	7	9	(14)	11	12	13
Civic Clubs	7	9	9	11	(15)	13	15
Local Industries & Businesses	8	9	10	12	13	(17)	17
Community Development Association	8	10	13	13	15	17	(20)

Associational interlock was defined for the purpose of the present study as the degree to which the coordinating associations in a locality appearing in the community field jointly participate in community activities. To examine the extent of associational interlock in the two communities, the coordinating associations were cross tabulated according to the number actions in which each association participated jointly with each other coordinating association in the community field (Tables 5 and 6). As shown in Table 5, for example, out of 9 actions in which it participated, the Chamber of Commerce in Community A participated jointly with business and industrial associations in 3 actions, with the newspaper in 6 actions and so on. For a visual representation of associational interlock in each community, the associations were plotted as intersecting circles varying as to the number of actions in which each association was involved and number of actions each association participated in jointly with each of the other associations (see Figures 1 and 2).[9] Each circle represented an association, and the radius of each roughly depended upon the number of actions in which the association it represented was involved. As could be seen from Figure 1, industrial and business associations represented by the circle I & B, participated in 10 actions. These could be counted by summing up all the numbers within that particular circle (summing up the numbers in the circle in a counter-clockwise manner: 4+2+1+2+1=10). Out of these 10 actions I & B participated jointly with civic clubs (CC) in 9 (i.e., summing up all the numbers falling within the area of intersection between circles I & B and CC: 4+2+2+1=9). Of these 9 actions, 4 actions involved joint participation of I & B and CC only; 6 actions (4+2=6) involved joint participation among I & B, CC and LG (local government); 7 actions (4+2+1=7) involved I & B, CC LG and NP (newspaper); and 9 actions (4+2+1+2=9) involved I & B, CC, LG, NP and Chm (Chamber of Commerce). Only in one action in which I & B jointly participated with Chm and LG, CC was not involved. Pattern of interlocking participation of each association with other coordinating associations could be visually examined in a similar manner.

The difference between the two communities in associational interlock could be visually compared with a high degree of accuracy. As can be observed from the two figures, Community B had a much higher degree of associational intersection than did Community A. The overwhelming coordinative and integrative

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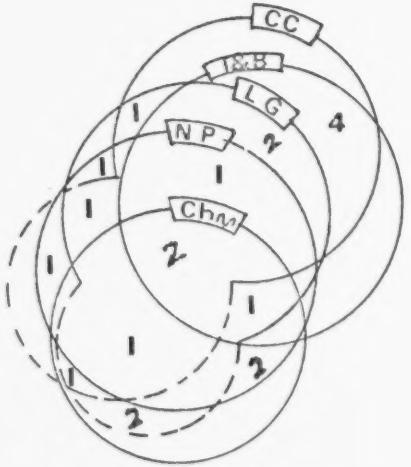
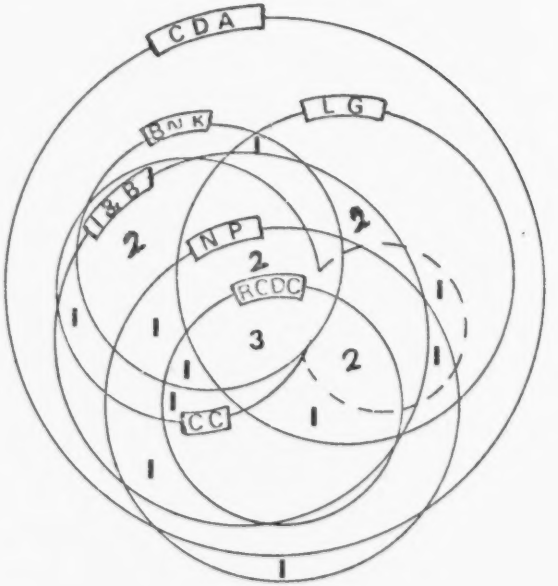
9. The author gratefully acknowledges the assistance of Harsha Nath Mookherjea in plotting the intersecting circles for a visual presentation of associational interlocks in the two communities and in developing the statistical measure of it.

FIGURE 1



Associational Interlock
in Community A

FIGURE 2



Associational Interlock
in Community B

LEGEND

CC	-	Civic Clubs	NP	-	Newspaper
I & B	-	Local Industries and Businesses	BNK	-	Banks
LG	-	Local Government	CDA	-	Community Development Association
Chm	-	Chamber of Commerce	RCDC	-	Rural Community Development Committee

influence of CDA in Community B is most strikingly discernible from Figure 2.

Co-efficient of Associational Interlock. Besides the visual judgment, the difference in associational interlock between the two communities was measured by the use of coefficient of associational interlock.

The coefficient of associational interlock is a ratio of observed and expected associational interlock in community activities which could be expressed as follows:

Coefficient of associational interlock (E) =

$$\frac{\text{Total number of observed interlocks (Io)}}{\text{Total number of expected interlocks (Ie)}}$$

The value of E varies between 0 and 1 expressing increasing degree of associational interlock. The total number of expected associational interlocks in each community was obtained first by computing the expected number of interlocks for each co-ordinating association and then adding up the expected number of interlocks of all coordinating associations in the community. The computation of the expected number of interlocks of each coordinating association involved multiplying the total number of actions each coordinating association participated in by the remaining number of associations in the matrix (Tables 5 and 6). The expected number of associational interlocks for the Chamber of Commerce in Community A, for example, would be 36 (9 x 4); for each of Local Industries and Businesses and Newspaper 40 (10x4); for Local Government 52 (13 x 4); and Civic Clubs 56 (14 x 4). The total number of expected associational interlocks for Community A would be 224 (see Table 7). When computed in the same manner, the expected total number of associational interlocks for Community B would be 582.

The total number of observed associational interlocks for each community could similarly be obtained first by computing the observed number interlocks for each coordinating association and then by summing up the observed number of interlocks of all associations. The observed number of interlocks for each coordinating association could be computed by simply summing up the number of actions it jointly participated in with every other coordinating association. For example, the observed number of associational interlocks for the Chamber of Commerce in Community A (see Table 5) was computed as 20 (3+6+7+4=20), for Local Industries and Businesses 22, Newspaper 23, Local Government 29 and Civic Clubs 28. The total number of observed associational interlocks for Community A was computed as 122, and when computed in the same manner, for Community B was 408 (Table 7).

Table 7. Expected and Observed Frequencies of Associational Interlock in Community A and Community B by Associations and Coefficients of Associational Interlock in the Two Communities

Community A			Community B		
Association	No. of Expected Interlock	No. of Observed Interlock	Association	No. of Expected Interlock	No. of Observed Interlock
Chamber of Commerce	36	20	Rural Community Development Committee	48	41
Local Industries & Businesses	40		Banks	60	45
Newspaper	40	23	Local Government	78	53
Local Government	52	29	Newspaper	84	60
Civic Clubs	56	28	Civic Clubs	90	64
Total	224	122	Local Industries & Businesses	102	69
			Community Dev. Association	120	76
			Total	582	408
$E = \frac{Io}{Ie} = \frac{122}{224} = 0.545$			$E = \frac{Io}{Ie} = \frac{408}{582} = 0.701$		

As shown in Table 7, the coefficient of associational interlock in Community A and Community B were 0.545 and 0.701 respectively. To find out whether the difference between the two coefficients was statistically significant, the difference of proportion test was used and the value of 'Z' came to 4.703 which was found to be significant at .001 level of probability.

To summarize, the extent of associational interlock among the coordinating associations was much higher in Community B than in Community A. This difference was discernible not only in the graphical presentation of the extent of associational interlock in the two communities but also in the statistical measure used. This measure thus further emphasized the higher degree of coordinativeness of the associational structure in Community B as compared to that in Community A, which was already indicated by the preceding measures of number, and intensity of participation of coordinating associations, and presence of central coordinating association in the associational field.

Summary and Conclusion

The purpose of this paper has been to compare the coordinativeness of associational structures of two local communities, and in doing so, define several operational measures of associational coordinativeness, and suggest a quantitative scale for measuring associational interlock in community activities. The theoretical assumption used in this paper has been that a coordinative and integrative community structure seems to be essential if comprehensive development is to be realized, for such a structure includes both the processes of elaboration and coordination in a complementary relationship. A coordinative community structure stimulates specialization and differentiation of existing structures, and creation of new forms to deal with the new problems and needs in a multiplicity of interest fields and, at the same time, integrates and coordinates different activities within a locality. Autonomous development styles involving isolated and specialized activities within individual interest fields often accomplish material goals or "physical targets" but frequently at the expense of structural unity of a local society. Indeed a good deal of recent research and theory has been devoted to the problem of structural coordination especially in complex urban settings emphasizing the importance of inter-organizational relationships (cf. Warren, 1967:396-419; Litwak and Heyton, 1960-61:395-420; and Turk, 1970:1-19). The coordinativeness of a community structure could be identified, following the frame of reference of community field theory, at the level of actions, actors and associations. The focus of the present paper was on the associational structures.

The two communities compared tended to support the general theoretical assumption. The Community A which could be characterized as following a somewhat autonomous action style, lacked coordination and integration of its community structure in relative terms as reflected in its leadership structure, reported in previous studies (Wilkinson, 1965; Preston, 1967), as well as in associational structure described in the present study. As a consequence, perhaps, its history of local actions was characterized by public debate, controversy and dissensions among groups split in class, ethnic and interest lines although in physical and technological terms its accomplishments were probably no fewer than Community B.

The Community B, however, was characterized by a highly coordinative leadership and associational structures and a unified community field. As shown in the present study, it had a larger number of coordinating associations more intensively participating in activities in several interest fields, a highly interlocking associational structure and a central coordinating association with a great coordinative influence on different community activities. Its project accomplishments were numerous and its action styles were structered, orderly and coordinative.

It should be pointed out that one potential problem of a coordinative associational structure with a central coordinating association exerting strong integrative influence is that it might develop a trend toward an "organized concentration of decision-makers" (Freeman, 1968:62). Much, however, will depend upon the kind of accountability that may be established in a community, as argued by Freeman (Ibid.:62), for such an associational structure and especially for a highly influential central coordinating agency like Cummunity Development Association.

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